RAVEN--chhosskiong or phorok. This bird is held in reverence and never killed. But see under "Omen." 825

[132]RECRUIT--seepa sóma. 701

[133]REMARRY TO--yáng hlokstey pakston cho ches. The first wife of a man is called his "changchhen," if she has no children, or if he is rich enough to keep two families, he may marry a second wife, who is called his "changchhungan," and if she too is childless, or if he can afford to keep three families, he may marry a third wife, who is called his "yángchhungan." So long as these three are alive, he may not marry a fourth wife. If one wife dies, another wife may be taken in her place. As a matter of fact, the Ladákis are much too poor to wish to support more than one wife in a family, and it is only the necessity for having children, who will one day relieve them of the "forced labour" duties attaching to the possession of land, that induces them to [184] remarry. If a man and his brothers have got, in common, three living wives and yet no child, they may not get another wife, but may call in to their family circle another man, to be a husband to their wives; this man is termed a "phortsak." If he too begets no child, still another man, called "pho-chhungan," may be called in. If he too is childless, the original husband and wife must resort to adoption. In the case of the death of the eldest husband of a woman, the latter is at liberty to divorce herself, in the manner described (see "Divorce)." After this she must leave her late husband's house, leaving with her husband's family any children she may have; she is then at liberty to marry again, and so on, for nine times, after which she must be content to remain a widow. If she does not divorce herself from the husband's corpse, she becomes, or rather remains, the wife of the younger brothers. She cannot remain in her late husband's house, and in possession of her children, unless she continues to remain the wife of the younger brothers. As a matter of fact, a Ladáki woman, unless she is childless, never leaves her original husband's home. In any case, it is considered improper for a man or woman to remarry within a year of the death of his, or her, wife or husband, and during this period of mourning a widower is termed "yoóksápo" and a widow "yooksámo." If

587 595 [511] [65] 597 586 768 595 768 765 587

765 587 [581] a man is left a widower while he is still young, he waits a year or so, and then marries a woman of his own age. Ladákis think that if elderly men marry young wives, the latter are likely to have young lovers, hence their selection of wives of their own age. In this, as in most other such matters, the Ladákis show a great deal of sound common sense.

779 775 [135] RESURRECTION--ró lángches. Buddhists do not believe in an ultimate resurrection of the body. For an account of their ideas on this point, see under the heading "Metempsychosis." They think, however, that persons occasionally return from the dead, that is to say, that [136] after death in this world, the earthly body and spirit may return to this world for a time. Some ten years ago a Lámá came from Lhásá to Leh and gave the following account of himself, which met with general credence. He said that he had died at Lhásá and had gone to "Ngiálwa," where he had burned for some months, after which he was removed to paradise, and that while there his "konjok sum," or "Trinity," had ordered him to return to earth for a year, to warn people of the fate which awaited the wicked. He showed brands all over his body, and said that they were the divine seals placed upon him in paradise. Needless to say, he came to collect money from the simple Ladákis. A person thus returned from the dead is termed "SHeelok."

651 656 REVENUE--yonggo (income); bap or zhing-i-bap (the revenue obtained by the State from the land tax). The revenue of Ladák amounts to about ~~R~~69,000 a year, and consists of (1) Land Revenue, in cash, about ~~R~~45,000; (2), Land Revenue, in kind, about ~~R~~11,000; (3) produce of the Roopshoo borax mines, about R8,000; (4) miscellaneous receipts, about ~~R~~8,000. In addition to the above, the State imposes a very heavy indirect land tax, in the shape of "beygár" or "unpaid labour," which land holders have to provide. Thus, nearly all public works are executed by "beygár," and the postal runners are really "beygáris" though they receive a nominal remuneration. The wood required at Leh for use as fuel is cut by "beygáris" at Chiling on the Zángskár frontier, and after being floated down the river to Ngieymo (Nimo), is there taken out and brought up to Leh by "beygaris." In addition to this, the free transport supplied to the Lapchhak and Chaba Missions, and to the ex-Raja, and to certain other persons, must be taken into consideration. The

764 simultaneously-born (lhan-skyes) (57); 9. The door of the works

57. It is supposed that together with the human being there is always born simulataneously a demon which dwells within him and which causes him harm.

(las-sgo) (58); 10. Mi-k'rug-pa (see note 56); 11. The way of sal-

58. The door opened by the good works (las) leads to paradise.

vation (t'ar-lam); 12. Of peace and passion (źi-k'ro); 13. The tearing-out out of the puddle of hell (na-rag don sprug).

Now, if the "gift offerer" is poor, not <u>all</u> of these prayers are recited, but only the following three: the "Mi-k'rug-pa," "Of peace and passion," and "The door of the works." On this occasion, as with the Geldanpa sect, the four parts of the Wang (dbaṅ) ceremony is performed, and at the burning of the paper mask the above-named prayers are also recited. The rite of the burning of the mask, as well as the recital of the prayers "Of the Dirt of Sins," are performed according to the book, "door of the works." When the corpse is being carried out of the house, the Drugpa lamas walk from the household temple to the cremating furnace amid constant reciting of the exorcising texts (59) from the Mikrugpa (book). The Drugpa lamas also observe

59. Prayers, magical texts, and exorcising formulas alternate with each other in these books of Tantra literature.

the rite of the t'ab-t'ig (furnace picture) of the magical square, and accordingly also carry out the cremation of the corpses.

The Bone Ceremony

765 Four days after the corpse has been carried out of the house, the second of the four parts (of the funeral ceremony) is held. On this occasion the lamas perform the so-called bone ceremony. If, for instance, the corpse has been carried out on the second day of the month /232/, the lamas put white paint (clay or marl) which has been dissolved in water, inside a vessel, and on the sixth day at the crack of dawn some p'as-pun go out to the place of cremation with an offering lamp and with a horse which they have bridled elaborately.

765

They take the ashes of the (cremated) corpse out of the furnace, and put them inside a sack; then they paint the entire furnace white both inside and out. On top above the opening a roof is formed (out of stone and bricks). The holes (fire holes) down below are closed (with stones). On top of the roof of the furnace they stick a white flag. With the statement, "Now we carry off the 'flowers' (meaning, 'the remains of the bones and the ashes'), " the p'as-pun load the ashes of the corpse onto the horse. In this way two lamas take the ashes to the river (60)

60. In Ladakh it is usually the Indus River or one of its [illegible] tributaries.

amidst the blowing of the large trumpets, and scatter it there.

On the very day on which the corpse is carried out (and burned), the bone ceremony is started on the (larger) remains of bones which have been brought into the house. This ceremony lasts one day. The crushed bones are mixed with the ashes of the burned paper mask, with loam, as well as with the shavings of jewels (turquoises, agates, and others) and metals, and with this mixture five, ten, even [illegible], even up to 100 and more pastes (impressions, Tibetan t'sa-t'sa), are created. (61). Some keep these impressions in their household temples, others

61. These pastes are pressed /or, printed/ with the help of very finely carved wooden moulds. On the front side they show pictures (reliefs) of Buddhas and other deities. Frequently they also bear the figure of a chorten.

build a special T'sat'sa shrine (t'sad-k'añ), shaped like a chorten, and put the pastes inside. Others again, place them inside an old chorten, and again others throw them away on the mountain or into the river. By the assertion of the practitioners of black magic, the lamas even consecrate (62) artfully created t'sat'sas with pictures of deities (in relief),

62. Through the consecration by the priests, the T'sat'sa images are supposed to be endowed with magical powers, and therefore they are believed to be effective as an amulet for defense against disease and danger. [751]

to be worn on a ribbon around the neck as amulets.

Now, after each (participating) lama has received a compensation

765 of one to two annas (in cash), these ceremonies (that is to say, the second part) are at an end. The lamas receive food to eat in proportion to the degree of elaborateness and the duration of the entire funeral rites.

It is true that sometimes a lama will read, at command, all parts of the book "T'os-agrol," for seven weeks or 49 days, counting from the day the death took place /233/. But nowadays (the lama) usually reads passages from the T'osgrol book only one day in each week during this period of time, consisting of seven times seven days.

Rites of Purification--Funeral Feast--Feeding of the Manes

783 Once the corpse has been carried out of the house, only the Lhami (among the p'as-pun) are the ones who nowadays observe the laws of purification with respect to the dead. They may not eat anything in the house of mourning, nor may they drink anything there, and some even are afraid to inhale the smoke from the hearth and do not enter the house. Sometimes the relatives and friends bring so-called mourning food (sdug-bzan) into the house of mourning.

765 When the full moon sets in (after a death has occurred), some well-to-do people hold the festival of the full moon. On this occasion they again call in the lamas and again they have death ceremonies performed. At the festival of the full moon the rich give to each owner of a farmstead in the village two large flat bread cakes, and to each small-holder one of these. To the monastery they present a "Large Tea," that is, a tea for all the lamas. Every ordained monk receives two large flat bread cakes, and each novice receives one. Some, on the other hand, donate the bread cakes as described above, on 49th day (counting from the day of the death), and others do so after a year has elapsed.

Others, again, donate two measures of wheat or barley to each larger farm owner as "funeral treat" (adad), and one measure to each small-holder, at the time the corpse is being carried out of the house. In order to distribute this "funeral treat" (that is, grain), the village magistrate comes around with his foremen, consisting of from five to 10 farmers (bcu-lag, lña-lag) (and they take care of the distribution).

At New Year's, or on the 30th day of the 10th month, in the very early hours of the morning, yes, soon after midnight, the people all go, each to his (that is to say, the family's or tribe's) burial place,

and they all take the dishes called "schimi" (63) there: rice, bread, 765.

63. Shimi (śi-mi) is simply what the dead person is called; but in this case it designates the food offering which is brought to the dead (manes).

cake, as well as meat, the 12th part of a killed animal, jugs full of beer, and many other things of the kind. The people place the dishes on a flat /234/ stone surface, and each one calls upon his deceased ancestors by name. (In conclusion) they then, after they have named the various names, call out: "You spirits of the earth and spirits of the rocks, kai, kai!" (64) They also call this "carrying breakfast to the

64. The restless spirits of the deceased are presumed to have turned into earth and rock spirits. "Kai, kai" means "listen, listen!"

plain." After the dishes, the tea, and the beer have been brought out to the dead in this manner, the people divide themselves into groups (according to the clans), and drink beer. The remains of the dishes are given to the beggars who gathered there.

Like their Buddhistic ancestors, the Muslims in Ladakh also had the custom of carrying out the shimi (food offering of the dead) onto the plain (the place of burial), within the year following the death; but a few years ago they gave up this practice. It is possible that in some villages the Muslims still offer up the shimi (65).

65. In parts of France, of Bretagne, and probably also of Russia, as well as in other Christian countries, the custom has still been preserved of bringing dishes of food, cake, sweets, and the like, out to the graves for the dead, on certain days. See, Waddell, Lamaism!

The Great Mass for the Dead

Some wealthy Buddhists in Ladakh also hold the so-called "Great Mass for the dead" (mañ-ĉog). They consult the soothsayer regarding a suitable day for the occasion, and they request the abbot of a (near-by) monastery to hold the Great Mass for the dead. The lamas who celebrate the mass go together with the closest relatives of the dead

765 person into the meeting hall of the monastery. The dead person's relatives donate tea, soup, rice, and the like, to all the lamas; this is done five times. On this occasion the lamas wear the ornaments with the crown with the five leaves (on each leaf being the picutre of one of the five Heavenly Buddhas), as well as other magical emblems and implements. The "gift offerer" (who has ordered the ceremony to be performed) is likewise dressed with the same magical ornaments; then the "charm of the little incense bottle," "the charm of the crown," "the charm of the thunderbolt," "the charm of the bell," and the "charm of the name" are carried out. After this magical ceremony has been completed, each of the lamas receives a gift of eight annas or more. The lamas of the higher ranks receive more than those of the lower orders.

/235/ Other Ways of Burial

766 In Ladakh the Buddhists usually burn the corpses. The corpses of such (persons) as have died of contagious diseases (like small-pox, typhus, and others), are buried under ground. In Ladakh the corpses are not, as a rule, left for the birds of prey, the vultures, and ravens to consume, as they are in Central Tibet. When a person dies among the nomads of Rupchu and other upland plateaus, the people cover the dead man's face with a cloth at the spot where he died. The nomads (literally "tent people," re-bo-pa) leave the place and move to another. The corpse is then consumed by wolves, vultures, and by other animals (66).

66. Since the nomads have no fixed and settled dwelling places, they do not have any burial places either. For cremation of the corpses they do not have the wood on the treeless upland steppes. Among many Buddhists it is considered as a particulary meritorious service to leave the corpses to the wild animals for the latter to consume. By feeding these animals with their flesh, the deceased perform even in death a work of mercifulness towards them.

Restless Spirits--Endless Ceremonies

769 Sometimes the lamas or the onpos (perhaps also a "clairvoyant") find out that the soul of a departed person has not yet found a

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 614 582 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [784] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lha-bSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

13: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1932 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
W. Tibetans AJ4

T 764 WT 764 T 764 793

In the meanwhile a few men from the village mount guard on the corpse lest it should be disturbed in any way. They make doubly sure of this by tying it in a sitting posture with a white scarf already blessed by the clergy.

In Ladakh it is customary to break the back of the corpse, this office being performed by the nearest relatives.

During the lying-in-state period, food and beer are placed before the deceased, and much feasting goes on in which both laity and clergy participate. As this orgy of feasting proceeds, the clergy are busily employed saying masses for the departed. Waddell very properly says that this ceremony is suggestive of an Irish Wake.

At the appointed time the body is carried on a litter or chair to the cremating ground to the accompaniment of much drumming.

One frequently sees the curious spectacle of a lama leading the corpse by a white scarf to guide it to the Western paradise. A deceased lama, however, does not require this assistance as he is supposed to be familiar with the path to be traversed after death.

T 764 WT 764

On arrival at the funeral pyre, the body, covered with a white cloth, is laid upon the logs (and in Ladakh inside a specially constructed earthen oven), the officiating lama feeding the flames with rancid butter or mustard oil applied on a long-handled temple ladle.

When the body is burnt, the ashes are collected and an effigy of the deceased is made and suitably adorned with clothes and ornaments. It is then mounted on a pony and conveyed to the confluence of two rivers where the ashes are thrown into the water. It is thought that the water will carry them to the sacred river of the Ganges.

In other parts of the country the ashes of the deceased are deposited in a *chorten* (a cenotaph of mud and stone in the shape of a stupa) erected over the site of cremation.

T 765

When a death occurs, the surviving relation is regarded as ceremonially unclean. If she be a surviving wife, the custom observed in Manchat is that she must wear her clothes back to front, unplait her hair, discard every safety-pin or button used to keep her clothes together, and substitute pieces of stick for all fastenings. She is not permitted to approach the family hearth, and when eating food she must use a stick instead of a spoon. Other relations of the deceased are also forbidden to eat food until the body has been burnt.

WT 765

In Bunan (a district in Lahoul) the restrictions for mourners are not so severe. There the husband discards one of his ear-rings, and wears the rim of his cloth cap turned down over his ears, whilst a surviving wife takes off the gold petals from her silver head-cup.

T 765 769

Funeral ceremonies in Tibet entail a great deal of expense, as a large body of lamas have to be entertained. Not less expensive are the feasts which have to be given to the members of the community.

The first feast is given on the day of the funeral, followed a week after by another.

At the expiration of the forty-nine days after death when the soul is free to roam about, yet another free distribution of food and beer is made by the surviving relatives.

It is also customary to feed the community before the threshing period subsequent to a death, and again at the end of the New Year festival.

T [775]

At the anniversary of a death the ceremony of *gyu-ma* (virtue) is performed, when the community is feasted on a very large scale. This last ceremony is considered of special importance, as this meritorious deed is supposed to secure for the soul of the departed a good rebirth in the six regions of rebirth.

WALTER ASBOE.